2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[811] 596 There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal 596 bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing 462 and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

631 177 622 Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane [793] of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on [797] aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

463 622 None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

648 The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

844 **Childbirth.**—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at child- [846] birth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. 553 Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial 855 whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings 785 seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to 593 help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive 857 tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the 868 child is 10 years old.

881 **Puberty and marriage.**—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either 584 sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The 585 chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like 797 succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

797 But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to
775 encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's mar-
585 riage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre,
785 but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

772 Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed
776 to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

775 Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

756 Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training
763 and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

756 Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a
773 force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventu-
171 ally death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the *Cayapa* shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

775 The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tsachila* Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as concertaje. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 373 fastening in pairs, on opposite sides of a long bamboo pole, short joints of bamboo of the proper size to hold a candle. Some torches had as many as fifteen of these pairs of candle sockets, and in all there were spaces on the torches for upward of five hundred lights. The 796 several stretchers used in carrying the images of saints and also an image of Christ were newly draped and prepared for use in the processions.

At about 7 o'clock P.M. criers were sent out to summon the people to the church for the first of the more important services of the fiesta, which everyone is obliged to attend. By 7:30 all had assembled. The doors were then closed and fastened, and guards placed over them to prevent anyone from leaving during the service. 796 This rite was conducted by the sindico, or warden of the 795 church, assisted by some of the head-men of the village, and at intervals as it progressed first one and then another of the numerous candles about the altar were extinguished until at last but one flame remained. This the sindico took into the vestry behind the altar, leaving the room in utter darkness, whereupon each of the men and boys immediately produced one or two large paddle-shape pieces of tough green bark, which he had kept concealed upon his person, and proceeded to castigate himself severely. The men all wore shirts made of light calico or of bandana handkerchiefs. That they might receive the full force of the punishment, however, each man pulled his shirt up about his neck and struck himself upon the bare back with his paddle. The blows were delivered with great force, making a loud whacking sound, but no severe pain was inflicted, as the paddles

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

were flat and very wide. After about ten minutes of this castigation, the sindico returned from the vestry with the candle, the paddles were dropped, and all the men and boys scurried off to the side and rear walls of the church.

This self-inflicted punishment is in this particular region confined to the Indians alone. Although there is a large negro population, and many negroes attend this ceremony, none participate in this part of it. The negroes in certain other sections, namely, to the south of Esmeraldas, are said to inflict similar punishment on themselves, while those of some other parts are quite unacquainted with the custom. This, together with certain other observances, such as whipping with a cat-o'-nine-tails on Easter Sunday, may be due to the influence exerted over the Cayapa by early Catholic priests. That the same customs do not prevail among the negroes is due seemingly to the fact that at the time of the later influx of negro slaves, other orders and other church customs had superseded those which may have given these particular ideas to the Cayapa. It is possible also that in certain of these customs there is a vestige of some aboriginal ceremonial observances, but if so it is not now possible to segregate them.

On the return of the single light to the altar, several other candles were lighted and the service was concluded by further responsive chanting.

Next was formed a procession, in which practically everyone appeared, headed by bearers of a cross and images of saints, followed by bearers of the candle torches and the banners, and by a large number of other fiesteros. Each person, whether carrying anything else or not, bore

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 church, as shown in pl. CXXXV, and passing again down the plaza, this time to the "rancho," which it circled, finally returning and reëntering the church (pl. CXXXVII).

796 At about 10 A.M. the sub-chief took his place at the
●785 extreme left of the altar, and criers were sent to summon all to the church for the annual castigation with the cat-o'-nine-tails, which punishment is obligatory upon all the Indians, both old and young. This ceremony, however, is never participated in by the negroes. If a man, the devotee bows or sits upon the left heel; if a woman, she bows or sits before the altar and receives one or more strokes from the cat-o'-nine-tails, which always has five points, so that each stroke counts as five lashes. The devotee must receive one stroke, and may take as many more as he desires. Often a person takes two or three strokes, and later returns once or even several times for an equal number. The castigator uses discretion in inflicting the punishment—to an adult he admisters blows with full force, but to a child the blow is light. The men come in their usual attire and receive their lashes upon the thin and very tightly drawn clout. The women, on the other hand, dress especially for the occasion, putting on always a calico or bandana covering to completely hide the face and the upper part of the body and wearing their newest and best manta. Frequently several mantas are worn one outside the other, for protection against the blows. It is customary for the women to make and to keep a manta for this special occasion and which after the ceremony may be worn every day, but it must never be worn before the ceremony. Comparatively small boys and girls come vol-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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CASTIGATOR WITH CAT-O'-NINE-TAILS

[P. 392(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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THE CEREMONIAL WHIPPING

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 392 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

untarily for this castigation, but children of from two to five years are usually accompanied. If necessary they are brought forcibly by their elders. The very small children generally receive but a light tap from the castigator.

A few minutes after the castigation at the altar commenced, an assistant took up his position just outside the door of the church and there administered punishment to any who desired it, after which they were at liberty to enter and receive still more at the altar if they desired, although this was not necessary. Pl. CXXXVII presents a view of this castigator with his cat-o'-nine-tails. Pl.

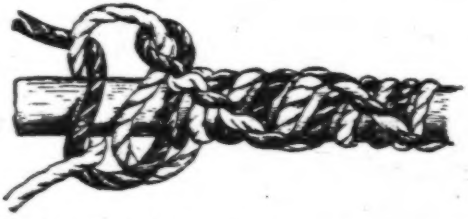

FIG. 28.—Technic of cording on cat-o'-nine-tails

CXXXIX, 2, shows him in the act of striking a devotee. In actual practice this was done at the door of the church. These two pictures, however, were posed at a short distance from the building in order to gain a better light. Fig. 28 shows the technic of cording on the whip.

By 11:30 the castigation of the devotees was finished and the second ofrenda of the day was called. Nearly everyone attended, but a few remained at the "rancho" to play before the saintly images there.

At about 4 P.M. the saints from the "rancho" were re-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

796 and the care of those who are sober is to see that a person
627 does no serious damage while in that state. The rum
273 used produces a cycle of symptoms, beginning with jollity and loquacity, passing through a desire to display skill, such as bending hands with an opponent, and ending with a frenzied desire to fight. It is then that the women usually take a hand and try to pacify the men. Sometimes several women are required to hold a drunken man and prevent serious trouble.

In the case of the young man above mentioned, no further punishment was inflicted. When he awoke in a fairly sober state he was taken before the chief, who lectured him on the error of his ways, and warned that if he repeated the offense he would be castigated and fined.

Third day. January tenth, 1909

796 A brief church service, preceded and followed by a procession about the plaza, was held in the forenoon as on the two previous days, and was followed by an ofrenda and a boda. Whereas on the two previous days the ofrendas had been more for the dead in general, in this case there was a feast for a person who recently had died. This fact brought out another interesting custom. After
● [785] the feasting (both the ofrenda and the boda) was finished, the sub-chief took his position at one end of the hall and administered a stroke or two with the cat-o'-nine-tails to each member of the family who had given the feast, and many others presented themselves for similar castigation, but it was compulsory only with the members of the immediate family and their relatives.